# THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY QUARTERLY

VOLUME XVI
NOS. 1-4

SPRING, SUMMER, FALL, WINTER 1978

THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL OF THE UNITED STATES, INC.
1616 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

THE
# Atlantic Community
QUARTERLY

SPRING 1978 Vol. 16, No. 1

About this Issue and the Authors 3

New Dimensions of Security — *Helmut Schmidt* 5

Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions—
A Need To Shift Our Focus — *Sam Nunn* 18

NATO Defenses and Tactical Nuclear Weapons (TNW) — *Manfred Wörner* 22

Strategic Mobility: Logistics Unlimited — *I. C. Kidd, Jr.* 33

NATO Europeans Call for a Say
in the Drafting of SALT III — *Lothar Ruehl* 46

Beyond Polaris — *Ian Smart* 51

Signs of Change in Russia — *Malcolm Toon* 65

Why the Soviet Elite Is Different From Us — *Robert Conquest* 70

In Defense of a Decadent Europe — *Raymond Aron* 75

The Need for Ambiguity — *Charles Osgood* 86

The Growing Dimensions of Security — *Atlantic Council of the U.S.* 89
(Summary, Introduction, Conclusions and Recommendations)

---

Source Material 113

Secretary Brown's Department of Defense
Report for Fiscal 1979, Presented February 2, 1978 113

President Carter's Remarks before the North Atlantic
Council, Brussels, January 6, 1978 122

Members of the Atlantic Council's Working Group on Security 125

Atlantic Bibliography 126

*Copyright 1978 by*

**The Atlantic Council of The United States, Inc.**
1616 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

THE
# Atlantic Community
QUARTERLY

SUMMER 1978 Vol. 16, No. 2

About this Issue and the Authors 131

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Remarks at Wake Forest University | *Jimmy Carter* | 133 |
| The Road to Recovery | *Pierre Elliott Trudeau* | 139 |
| German-US Relations: Identity of Political and Social Values | *Helmut Schmidt* | 150 |
| Communism, Socialism and Democracy | *David Owen* | 154 |
| West Germany: Problems and Prospects | *Lewis J. Edinger* | 167 |
| NATO in Midstream | *Robert Strausz-Hupé* | 175 |
| The Marshall Plan: Some Reminiscences from Capitol Hill | *Francis O. Wilcox* | 185 |
| The Defense of the Multinational Company | *John Kenneth Galbraith* | 193 |
| The Outlook for the Dollar | *Henry H. Fowler* | 208 |
| Should Observance of Basic Human Rights Be a Prerequisite for Aid? | *Edwin M. Martin* | 216 |
| Security in the Eastern Mediterranean: Re-Thinking American Policy | *Atlantic Council of the US* | 222 |
| May Day 1978 | | 234 |

Source Material 239

The North Atlantic Council Meeting With Heads of State and Government, Washington, D.C., May 30-31, 1978 239

Final Communique, Defense Planning Committee of NATO, May 19, 1978 251

*Copyright 1978 by*

**The Atlantic Council of The United States, Inc.**
1616 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

THE
# Atlantic Community
QUARTERLY

FALL 1978 Vol. 16, No. 3

**Eurocommunism: Does It Exist?**
The Opening Address — *Mario Soares* — 259
Eurocommunism and Western Europe — *Pierre Hassner* — 264
Eurocommunism and Eastern Europe — *Heinz Timmermann* — 274
Eurocommunism and Western Democracy — *Renato Mieli* — 282
Comments on Eurocommunism and Western Democracy — *Manlio Brosio* — 290
Summary — *Frank Roberts* — 295
U.S.-Soviet Relations — *Cyrus Vance* — 299
The West's Decline in Courage — *Alexander Solzhenitsyn* — 304
The Solzhenitsyn We Refuse to See — *Arthur Schlesinger Jr.* — 310
The Future of the French Army — *Guy Méry* — 317
The Free Press—An Endangered Species — *Leonard H. Marks* — 331
Some Recent Activities of the Atlantic Council of the United States — *Francis O. Wilcox* — 339
Freedom of Passage on the High Seas of Space — *Richard Earl Hansen* — 345
EC-China Trade Pact — *Stephen Milligan* — 358
**Nuclear Power and Nuclear Weapons Proliferation** — *Atlantic Council Policy Paper* — 361

Source Material 372
Communique, Bonn Economic Summit Conference, July 17, 1978 — 372
Members of Working Group on Nuclear Power — 379
Atlantic Bibliography 382

*Copyright 1978 by*
**The Atlantic Council of The United States, Inc.**
1616 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

THE
# Atlantic Community
QUARTERLY

WINTER 1978-79 Vol. 16, No. 4

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Peace and Security Within the Atlantic Alliance** | *Helmut Schmidt* | 387 |
| Assessment of NATO and the Defense of the Free World | *Nelson A. Rockefeller* | 403 |
| New Imperatives for the Old Alliance | *Robert Ellsworth* | 409 |
| What NATO Faces Today | *Alexander Haig* | 425 |
| Community Scenarios | *John Pinder* | 432 |
| The Carter Administration's Clash With European Economic Interests | *Lawrence G. Franko* | 440 |
| "Political Cooperation" | *Garret Fitzgerald* | 452 |
| **The Floating Rate System** | *Atlantic Council Policy Paper* | 457 |
| **Securing the Seas** | *Atlantic Council Policy Paper* | 473 |

Source Material 500

| | |
|---|---|
| XXIVth Atlantic Treaty Association Annual Assembly, Hamburg, September 20-23, 1978, Final Resolution | 500 |
| XXIVth Ministerial Meeting, NATO Nuclear Planning Group, Brussels, October 18-19, 1978 Final Communique | 502 |
| Letter from the President of the United States to Jean Monnet on his 90th Birthday | 504 |
| Members of Working Group on International Monetary Affairs | 505 |
| Members of Working Group on Securing the Seas | 506 |

*Copyright 1979 by*

The Atlantic Council of The United States, Inc.
1616 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006